The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his [illegible] use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Asia Shakir Hajjria (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Rawand," the father of Rawand, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

uncle (mzg) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children.' They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees.' As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (khal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. 'Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children.' In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (xalk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the [illegible]

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 957 592 [834] 589 357

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the wall of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The gaimmaqam, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic <u>'a-dh-dh-n</u>, after <u>adhan</u>, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

238 wool with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kétéré*[38].

[191] This vertical loom, known also from Aremiéré[39], is used for the making of the plain woollen rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedsteads during the day. One such rug (E. 2215), measures 1.40 m. × 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *sibé* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *fété*. This type of loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver in each village. At Tapoarou the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family and kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village. The loom in the twin village of Rakoma was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whom she lived, was the village smith.

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[191] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[40]. According to Ling Roth[41] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in the Rowanduz district[42], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tahoua (E. 2249a–c). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor forms a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, so certain parts of the loom, such as the warp-beam, the middle-beam, a wood that swings back the sley-wood, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground, whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counter-heddle and sley-rood hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook on the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be lowered, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[43].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows. Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or beam-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.42 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The *cloth- or beam-beam*, 0.720 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-rood can be swung towards the weaver. The *sley*[44] is a rectangular frame 0.59 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, idem, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-rood is mounted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-rood when this is released by the weaver. The sley-rood is suspended from a rope 2.60 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-rood, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lower transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.22 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised